

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MEXICO 01858 01 OF 02 222355 Z

62/60

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /026 W

----- 127110

O 222057 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5069

INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE

USUN NEW YORK 528

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MEXICO 1858

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y -- P A R A T W O --

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1 1998

TAGS: PFOR, PN, UNSC

SUBJECT: SC MEETING IN PANAMA

FROM AMBASSADOR SCALI

1. IN EARLIER TELEGRAM FROM PANAMA MARCH 21 I REPORTED THAT 3:30 PM NOVEMBER 21 MEETING WITH PAN FORNMIN TACK AND HIS SIX " ADVISERS" HAD DIFFERED FROM NOONTIME MEETING WITH TACK AS NIGHT DIFFERS FROM DAY. AFTERNOON MEETING SHOWED PANAMANIAN CLEARLY DID NOT WANT AGREEMENT WITH US ON ACCEPTABLE SC RES ON PAN CANAL, AND THIS WAS FINAL MEETING WITH TACK. SUBSEQUENT ATTEMPTS ON MY PART TO REACH TORRIJOS OR, FAILING THAT, NORIEGA, CAME TO NAUGHT. THE TWO PANAMANIAN LEADERS ENGAGED FOR FOUR HOURS IN TRANSPARENT DODGES TO AVOID FURTHER CONVERSATIONS WITH ME , AND SC MOVED ON TO VOTE ON CANAL RES ABOUT 8:00 P. M. SINCE PANAMANIAN WILL DOUBTLESS PUT OUT THEIR OWN VERSION OF EVENTS, IT IS PERHAPS WORTHWHILE TO SUPPLEMENT EARLIER REPORTING ON BENNETT' S AND MY NOON MEETING WITH TACK AND NORIEGA.

2. AT MY 10:30 A. M. MEETING WITH TORRIJOS, WITH NORIEGA AND AMBASSADORS BENNETT AND SAYRE PRESENT, HE HAD SEEMED TO WANT TO HAVE AGREEMENT ON RES LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD MAKE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MEXICO 01858 01 OF 02 222355 Z

IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO SUPPORT RES. HE APPEALED TO ME TO " FIND A FORMULA," STRESSED HIS SATISFACTION OVER CLOSE COOPERATION EXISTING BETWEEN CERTAIN US AND PAN AGENCIES ( PARTICULARLY IN FIELDS OF SECURITY AND PUBLIC ORDER) AND PLEADED WITH ME TO GIVE HIM " A LITTLE MARGIN FOR LIVING" BY WORKING WITH FONMIN TACK ON MUTUALLY AGREEABLE LANGUAGE. WHEN WE CALLED SHORTLY THEREAFTER ON TACK AND FOUND HIM ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY NORIEGA, IT APPEARED THAT TORRIJOS HAD DIRECTED NORIEGA' S PRESENCE AT THE MEETING TO INSURE THAT HIS EXPRESSED WISHES FOR AGREEMENT BE CARRIED OUT.

3. AT NOON MEETING TACK WAS MOST FORTHCOMING OF ANY OF MY FIVE OR SIX SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH HIM. HE WAS ALMOST MELLOW. HE PROFESSED TO BE ANXIOUS TO FIND AGREEMENT. HE NODDED WITH APPROVAL AS WE STRESSED THAT OUR PROPOSAL WAS BASED ON PAN DRAFT, WITH NO MAJOR CHANGES EXCEPT FOR REMOVAL OF THIRD PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH AND ADDITION OF OUR OP. PARA. 2 WITH LANGUAGE INTENDED TO MEET PAN WISHES. TACK LOOKED OVER COMPARATIVE DRAFTS AND EXPRESSED SATISFACTION OVER POSITIVE US APPROACH. IT WAS AS THOUGH HE HAD RECEIVED ORDERS TO BE REASONABLE AND TO COME TO AGREEMENT WITH US.

4. HIS ONLY SUGGESTION FOR CHANGE WAS ADDITION OF FIVE WORDS, QUOTE AS A SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT COUNTRY QUOTE TO FOLLOW WORD QUOTE PANAMA QUOTE IN OUR PROPOSED OP. PARA. 2. HE ASKED IF I WOULD BE WILLING TO REPEAT IN SC DEBATE ON RES SOME OF LANGUAGE FROM MY GENERAL STATEMENT -- THAT PART DISCUSSING HOW FORTHCOMING WE WERE PREPARED TO BE WHEN BI- LATERAL NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED. I SAID I WOULD BE GLAD TO DO THIS -- IT WOULD CAUSE ME NO DIFFICULTY.

5. TACK THEN RAISED QUESTION OF 90- YEAR TERM WITH RESPECT TO SEA LEVEL CANAL. THIS 90- YEAR PERIOD OBVIOUSLY RANKLES PANAMANIAN; IT CAME UP FREQUENTLY IN CONVERSATIONS WITH VARIETY OF INDIVIDUALS DURING OUR WEEK IN PANAMA. I COMMENTED THAT I WAS NOT INVOLVED IN CANAL NEGOTIATIONS AND WAS NOT COMPETENT TO SPEAK TO THIS POINT. HOWEVER, I SAID I WOULD EXPRESS PERSONAL VIEW THAT DATES AND LENGTH OF TERMS SHOULD BE TALKED  
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PAGE 03 MEXICO 01858 01 OF 02 222355 Z

ABOUT BY NEGOTIATORS. THOSE WERE THE SORTS OF

PROBLEMS WHICH NEGOTIATIONS WERE MEANT TO SOLVE.  
TACK SAID HE WELCOMED THIS EXPRESSION OF  
OPINION; IT WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD HEARD AN  
AMERICAN OFFICIAL SPEAK THIS WAY.  
DEAN

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PAGE 01 MEXICO 01858 02 OF 02 222150 Z

62  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /026 W  
----- 125943

O 222057 Z MAR 73  
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5070  
INFO AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE  
USUN NEW YORK 529

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MEXICO 1858

EXDIS

6. TACK THEN SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO ADVISE HIS  
CO- SPONSORS OF THIS POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN  
SITUATION, STARTING WITH PERU AND INCLUDING NON-  
ALIGNEDS. HE DID WANT US TO CONSIDER THE FIVE  
WORDS HE HAD PROPOSED. THE CLEAR IMPLICATION  
THROUGHOUT WAS THAT THIS WAS HIS ONLY REQUEST.

7. I TOLD HIM I COULD NOT BE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT  
FURTHER ADDITIONS TO OUR LANGUAGE SINCE WE HAD COME  
AS FAR AS WE COULD. WHAT I HAD PROPOSED, BASED ON  
PAN DRAFT AND SEEKING TO MEET PAN NEEDS, HAD BEEN  
GIVEN ME AS OUR FINAL POSITION. I TOLD HIM I WOULD  
VETO ANYTHING MORE. HOWEVER, I WOULD GO BACK TO  
WASHINGTON WITH HIS PROPOSAL. WE LEFT TACK'S  
OFFICE IN LEGISLATIVE PALACE TO GO DIRECTLY TO  
EMBASSY TO RAISE MATTER WITH DEPARTMENT.

8. AT 1:40 P. M. AMBASSADOR SAYRE RECEIVED TELEPHONE CALL FROM  
TORRIJOS PERSONALLY WHO TOLD SAYRE WE HAD RECEIVED FINAL PAN  
POSITION FROM TACK.

9. FOLLOWING MY TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH SEC. ROGERS,

BENNETT AND I RETURNED TO PALACE FOR 3:30 P. M. MEETING WITH TACK. ATMOSPHERE HAD NOW ENTIRELY CHANGED. NORIEGA WAS NO LONGER PRESENT; INSTEAD THERE WERE BOYD AND THE FIVE ADVISERS. TACK'S MANNER WAS COLD AND HARD. HE ACCUSED US OF HAVING SUBMITTED AN AMERICAN DRAFT; GOP WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO EXPLAIN TO ITS PUBLIC

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SECRET

PAGE 02 MEXICO 01858 02 OF 02 222150 Z

THE ACCEPTANCE OF A RES BASED ON AN AMERICAN DRAFT. ONE OF ADVISERS CHARGED THAT US HAD FACED PANAMA WITH AN ULTIMATUM. BENNETT IMMEDIATELY COUNTERED THIS. THAT 3:30 MEETING HAS BEEN REPORTED IN FULL IN A SEPARATE TELEGRAM FROM PANAMA ON MARCH 21. THIS WAS MY FINAL MEETING WITH TACK AND BOYD.

10. ON REFLECTION IT SEEMS CLEAR TO ME THAT BOYD AND OTHER ADVISERS HAD FROM BEGINNING WANTED TO FORCE A U. S. VETO FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE ( AND COMPETITIVE) POLITICAL PURPOSES. IT SEEMED AT MORNING MEETING WITH TORRIJOS THAT HE GENUINELY WANTED TO FIND AN AGREEMENT WITH US. I WOULD NOT BE SURE ABOUT TACK'S POSITION AT NOON TIME, SINCE HE SEEMED THERE TO BE ACTING UNDER ORDERS FROM TORRIJOS. TACK'S BEHAVIOR ON MARCH 21 OF FIRST BEING FORTH-COMING AND THEN REVERSING HIMSELF IS, I GATHER, PAR FOR THE COURSE WITH HIM.

11. MY HUNCH IS THAT, WHEN BOYD AND OTHERS SUCH AS ILLUECA AND DE LA ROSA HEARD FROM TACK THAT WE WERE ON POINT OF AGREEMENT, THEY MOVED IN TO BLOCK IT, POSSIBLY WITH TACK'S FULL HELP. THEIR BLOCKING WAS MOST EFFECTIVE. PANAMA CONTINUES TO LIVE UP TO ITS LONG- HELD REPUTATION AS THE DOUBLE CROSSROADS OF THE WORLD.

DEAN

SECRET

\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* EXDIS

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* SECRET

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